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Gardīzī on India

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ON several occasions, when my Persian coaster ventured into the Indian Ocean and was battered by too heavy seas, and I was murmuring the verse of Hāfiz :—

کجا دانند بیم ما سبکباران ساحلها

Dr. L. D. Barnett, like the expert pilot he is, came to the rescue. As a token of gratitude I wish him to accept my translation of the chapter on India extracted from the unpublished part of Gardīzī's historical work.

Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Ḥayy ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Maḥmūd Gardīzī [1] dedicated his work to the Ghaznavid Sultān 'Abd al-Rashīd ibn Maḥmūd (440–4/1049–53). This king's title *Zayn al-milla* is echoed in that of the *Zayn al-akhbār*. Gardīzī's chapter on the caliphs stops at 423/1032, and that on the Seljuks at 432/1041, which is the *terminus post quem* for the actual compilation of the work. The appendices following the history may have been added somewhat nearer to the time of the dedication. One detail recorded in the text is curious : Gardīzī refers to Bīrūnī (d. on 3 Rajab 440/13 Dec. 1048) as his personal acquaintance.[2] Gardīzī's birth-place is still shown on the maps 34 miles east of Ghaznī. Gardīz is mentioned in the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* (compiled in A.D. 982) as a " frontier town between Ghaznīn and Hindūstān, situated on the top of a mound and possessing a strong fortress with three walls. The inhabitants are Khārijites." In his chapter on India, Gardīzī quotes his countryman Ḥamd ibn Valak Gardīzī, thereby confirming his links with his native town. The name of the author's father Ḍaḥḥāk is curious. It may be Arabic, but, as in the *Shāh-nāma*, it may be the Arabic disguise of the Iranian *Zohāk* (*aži-dahāk*). If in Central Persia Zohāk was a tyrant, in Eastern Khorasan several places were connected with his memory and the dynasty of Ghor was proud of its descent from Afrīdūn's opponent (*Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri*, tr. by Raverty, 306–7).

Only two manuscripts are known of the *Zayn al-akhbār*, the one belonging to King's College, Cambridge (King's College, 213) and the other to the Bodleian Library in Oxford (Ouseley, 240). I shall quote them respectively as *C.* and *O.* The date of *O.* is unimpeachable : 21 Dhul-Ḥijja 1196/27 Nov. 1781. The date of *C.* has been much discussed. In the colophon, above the word *sana* (" year ") appear only the figures 93 clearly written. Underneath the line stand the figures 12. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 21, suggested the date 930/1524, though the dot seen to the right of 93 can hardly be taken for a zero following 92.[3] Dr. M.

[1] Barthold, *Otchot*, 78–80 ; *Turkestan*, 20–21 ; C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature*, ii/1, 63.

[2] *C.*, f. 175*a* : *chunīn shanīdam az Khwāja Abū Rayḥān Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Bīrūnī.* Gardīzī's chapter on Indian festivals (*C.*, 172*a*–177*a*) is based on Bīrūnī, see Sachau's transl., ii, 178–184, and 346. Gardīzī's text has a few additions.

[3] This dot may belong to *min* preceding *sana*.

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Nāzim, the editor of the historical part of Gardīzī (Berlin, 1928, p. 1) read the date as 1093/1682 " because the scribes of the eleventh century A.H., when giving the date, usually omitted the figures denoting the thousand ". Professor M. Qazvīnī categorically denies the existence of this habit and suggests either 903/1497 or 930/1524.[1] Unfortunately, the script itself is not a decisive guide in the present state of Persian and Indian-Persian palæography. The general impression from the writing of *C.* is in favour of its appurtenance to the sixteenth or seventeenth century. This MS. is partly water-stained. The Oxford MS. is written in a much clearer script but, as Barthold had already seen,[2] it is but a transcript of *C.* (or, less likely, of its original). All the mistakes and lacunæ of *C.* are repeated in *O.*, but sometimes the latter has some useful guesses. On the whole, the text of both MSS. is far from satisfactory: the archaic Persian expressions have often been misunderstood and the Indian terms can be restored only by guess-work and by comparison with other sources.

Gardīzī's chapter on India contains a precious indication that his source is the lost work of Abū 'Abdallāh [Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad] Jayhānī. It is probable that, in his turn, Jayhānī was using the text of Ibn Khurdādhbih much more complete than the abridgment of it published by de Goeje in *Bibl. Geogr. arabicorum*, vi. And, as I have suggested in my edition of Sharaf al-din Marvazi (p. 126), at the bottom of the greater part of the earlier information on India must be the report of an agent whom the Barmakid Yaḥyā ibn Khālid sent to India (*circa* A.D. 800) to collect medicinal plants and to draw up a report on Indian religions.

In my edition of the chapters on China, the Turks, and India from Sharaf al-din Marvazi's *Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayāwān*[3] (quoted: TH), I have used Gardīzī's data in great detail, but only now will the readers be able to judge for themselves of the interesting picture which a keen Muslim observer drew of the manners and customs of the Indians, probably over two centuries before Bīrūnī. The broken pieces of his mirror have been picked up by many later authors,[4] but none of them has preserved the traces of the original in such a colourful way as Gardīzī. The simplicity of his Persian (slightly tinged by local tradition) can only be compared with that of the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, but the lacunæ and misunderstandings in the MSS. greatly complicate the task of a translator. I have purposely given up any pretence to a literary form, in order to preserve the vague character of the passages which cannot be restored or improved in the present circumstances.

For lack of space in Dr. Barnett's *Festschrift*, I can give here only the translation of the text, but the facts quoted by Gardīzī have been analysed

[1] *Bīst-maqāla*, ii, Tehran, 1313, pp. 196–201.

[2] *Turkestan*, 21, note.

[3] Royal Asiatic Society, 1942. The present article must be regarded as an Annex to Marvazi.

[4] *Al-Fihrist*, Muṭahhar ibn Ṭāhir Maqdisi, the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, Sharaf al-din Marvazi, Shahristānī, etc. References to all these books are given in my edition of Marvazi's text.

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by me in great detail, concurrently with the parallel passages of Sharaf al-zamān Marvazi, and the few additions will be given in the footnotes.

[C 197b] RECORDS OF THE INDIANS

1. The people of India are skilful, clever, and shrewd. They make good and subtle things. From their midst come many sages, especially in the province (*vilāyat*) of Kashmīr. Their arts are very prodigious. In their religion there are differences, as well as in their customs. I have set forth here information about them such as I could find, in order that it should be known.

2. RELATIONSHIP. The Indians are very fastidious in maintaining (the rules of) relationship and will not take a wife from anywhere, or give a girl away [O 247a] unless the match suit their origin. ABŪ 'ABDALLĀH JAYHĀNĪ says in his book of history (*Kitāb-i tavārīkh*) that there are seven classes (*gurūh*) of them. (*a*) The first is called Sākb.tri[1]; this class is the greatest among them and all the Indian tribes prostrate themselves before (its members), while the latter do not do so before anyone. Kingdom (kingship ?) belongs to them[2] and they are few. (*b*) (The Brahmans . . .) but they are not kings. They . . . prostrate themselves before the S.mnānī (*sic*) but the S.mnān[3] do not do so before them. Most of these Brahmans drink no wine and eat no meat. (*c*) The third are the *Kshatriya (spelt *K.shīriyān*) who do not drink wine more than thrice (at a time). The Brahmans do not give them their women, but take women from them. (*d*) The fourth are the Shudra (spelt *Sūdhriyān*). They are agriculturists and gardeners (*pālīzbān*). They associate [198a] with the Kshatriya, from whom they take women and to whom they give theirs (but the Brahmans) do not give them women. . . . (*f*) The sixth are the Chandala who are singers and also carry out punishments. They *have beautiful women. If a Brahman falls in love with such a woman, the keepers of religion expel him and consider him no more a Brahman. For this reason he who touches a Chandala becomes subject to harm. These Chandala go about with a piece (of wood) in their hands; at the end of that piece of wood there is a ring and within it smaller rings are fitted, and with this piece of wood they give warning that men, on seeing that sign and on hearing the sound of the rings, should get out of their way and no harm befall them. (*g*) (The seventh) are the class called *Dunbi (spelt *Rūbnān*) who are black-skinned. They are all players on stringed instruments and dancers (*pāy-kūb*). They are altogether like

[1] In my edition of Marvazi, p. 124, I have followed the explanation of this term as **Chakravartī* (H. W. Bailey), but the late Sir R. Burn drew my attention to the new interpretation offered by S. H. Hodivala as *Śākyaputra*, the term applied to medieval Buddhist priests [but what about the kingdom (*mulk*) belonging to them ?]. The whole paragraph 2 is out of order and has lacunæ. If S. H. Hodivala's hypothesis is right the original source of the report must have been Buddhist, which has some obvious chronological importance. See below, point 10.

[2] TH: *wa fīhim al-mulk.*

[3] Either the Buddhists have wrongly got into the system of Indian castes, or some distinction should be made between the *S.mnān* and the Buddhist *shamanī*, see below, § 10*b*. Cf. *Tanbīh*, 161.

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the Chandala. The latter mix with them and take women from them but do not give them theirs.

3. Their ACCOMPLISHMENTS (*adab*). Their sciences and accomplishments are manifold. One of them is charms (*afsūn*). It is reported that, should they be willing, they will do what they wish. With their charms they heal, and, whatever limb it be, they expel illness from it and pass it over to some other person. Another accomplishment is telepathy (lit. " imagination and thought "), and it is reported that by it they obtain wonders [**O 248a**] and address words to the absent by means of telepathy, and thus it happens. By persuasion and telepathy (*i'tiqād-va-vahm*) they solve matters difficult beyond words. Also they produce fancies (*gumān*) and show phantoms by which great sages are perplexed (reading **taḥayyur* for *tamīz*). They also have a procedure called **sīmāband* (spelt *sh.māt.nt*) which refers to the wonderful talismans [**198b**] which they make. They recite incantations (*khwānish* " hymns " ?) tantamount to talismans and they impart these incantations to their disciples. Of these incantations one particularly astonishing is (that) stopping hail (*zhāla*),[1] which they chase from one place to another. And thus they make contracts with villages and other places for protecting them against hail. They make contracts from year to year, and, should someone refrain, they will send hail against his land.

4. Another incantation (*khwānish*) is against snake-poison, which they remove from a man's body. ḤAMD IBN VALAK (?) GARDĪZĪ told me that a man was bitten by a snake ; thereupon (*bar jāy*) he grew cold and became like a corpse and they wanted to bury him. Meanwhile, an Indian came up and said : " he has fainted but has not died ". He then kept reciting a spell (*afsūn bi-khwāndan īstād* ?) and that man recovered his senses. (The Indian) brought out the poison from where the snake bit him [**O 248b**] and the man got up and walked away.

6. And they produce many similar wonders, by means of reciting spells (*afsūn khwāndan*). And they have a medical science the like of which no one has seen in the lands of Islam. Their claims in it are numerous, such as to maintain health, to avert illness,[2] to put off senility, to increase sexual power, and besides, to restrain (*bāz-dāshtan*) inveterate ailments—such as some of our friends have witnessed and ourselves have heard.

7. (Among) the wonders (are their) mathematics, geodesy, geometry, and astronomy, in which their science and authority (*sangī* ?) have reached a degree which it is impossible to explain for it is superhuman. (Similarly they excel in) the art of singing and dancing and in the construction of implements of merriment : they operate (*bijunbānand*) some wonderful stringed instruments (*rūd*) in a most difficult way while no other limb (*andām*) is moving (unnecessarily).

[1] On the use of *zhāla* instead of *tagarg* in Afghanistan see Bogdanov, " Stray Notes ", *JASB.*, xxvi, 1930, No. 1, p. 123.

[2] C. *tadbīrī-yi bīmārī* (?) : O. *b.rb.di* (**bihbūdī* ? or *burīdan* ?).

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8. They have invented (*nihāda-and*) manifold arms in great numbers (?) and they fabricate implements (*sāz*) of war, such as horns (*būq*) and drums, as well as contraptions producing fearful (*fajī'*) and terrifying sounds, such as the voice of the elephant or the roaring of the lion or of the *tiger, so that he who hears them [**O 249**] becomes terror-stricken and horror and dismay fill his heart.

And (they) also (make) stringed instruments for merriment and concerts.

9. The men producing such things are in the east of India (in the region) called *KĀMRŪP.[1] They make such things that whoever sees them or hears them admits that they are *not human beings, but peris.

The towns in which (*andar ū* !) these marvels are produced or found are situated from Qandahār (Gandhāra) towards Kashmīr, and also in (?) the province of Ganges (*Gang*). One of these towns is JALLANDHAR, in whose province is found much myrobalam, *terminalia bellerica*, *embilica officinalis*, and the **jāshāk* tree.[2] The Indians say that a king of this country would live up to 250 years, while at any time he would ride, hunt, and have intercourse with women, just like young men, all this being due to medicines and wiles (*ḥīla*).

Other towns (or lands) are SARĀVAST (*Śrāvastī*), which is said to be the birth-place of Buddha,[3] and *KUŚINAGARA (spelt *K.shk.ri*), which is said to be the place where Buddha perished (*sic*); also CHITRAKŌT,[4] which produces *shayṭara-yi hindī*,[5] while in its mountains there are numerous **jāshāk* trees and (other) things [**O 249b**]; here is the abode of the great men (nobles ?) and here their sages learn charms and [**199b**] every science. The towns UJJAYNĪ (*sic*) belongs to the worshippers of Māhakālī (see below, § 22) and the astronomical tables of "Arkand"[6] were calculated from its longitude. In it are situated numerous repositories of books and wisdom.

10. COMMUNITIES. Thus says [Abū] 'Abdallāh Jayhānī: the Indians are divided into 99 divisions which can be reduced to 42 varieties, and their basic foundations are fourfold. With God's help, I shall explain these four foundations (*asās*).

(*a*) First come those affirming (the existence of) the Creator, may his majesty be exalted, and who believe in prophets, with regard to commands and interdictions, reward and punishment, that is to say that everyone finds reward or punishment to the measure of his works (*kirdār*).

[1] I.e. Assam. Mis-spelt *Kāmrūt* in *C.* and *O.*

[2] Spelt *dār-i khāshāk*. W. Henning has pointed to the Ssk. *jāṣaka*-wood, "a kind of yellow fragrant wood" (letter 24.xii.1947).

[3] *Śrāvastī* was not the birth-place of Buddha but the reputed scene of many of his exploits.

[4] Chitrakōt, perhaps "the Chitra-kūṭa in the Dandaka forest", whither Rāma repaired during his exile. In Böhtlingk's dictionary the name is explained as a mountain in Bāndalkhaṇḍa, now called Kāmtā.

[5] Rather *shītaraj* "lepidium latifolium" than *shāh-tarraj* "fumaria officinalis". Cf. Abū Manṣūr Muwaffaq, tr. Achundow, nos. 351 and 348.

[6] I.e. Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍa-khādyaka* from which Biruni derived his knowledge of Indian astronomy.

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(*b*) (The second are those who) reject the prophets ; they are called SHAMANĪ (i.e. Buddhists, see (*d*) below ?).

(*c*) The third believe in God, may he be exalted, and in Paradise and Hell, saying that in going there they remain there for ever, for God's mercy (*'aṭā*) and chastisement are uninterrupted.

(*d*) The fourth class say that reward and punishment consist in transmigration, either in happiness or in misfortune, and that Paradise and Hell are in proportion to one's achievements or sins ; they are not eternal and when one has obtained a reward (*pādāsh*) proportionate to one's deeds (**O 250a**) one comes out of them. These all are the sayings of the SHAMANĪ who are (also) called BUDDHISTS (*budī*). [See below, 15.]

11. Those of the Brahmans who believe in the Creator say that God's apostle unto his creatures was an angel (*firishta*) called BĀSDĪV (Vāsudeva), who, in human form, came to them with a message, but he had no book with him. He had four hands ; in one he held an unsheathed (*kashīda*) sword, in the second the baldric, in the third a [*chakkar*] [1] which is an Indian weapon [**200a**] which they throw from the elephant's back and which is a ring with sharpened edges ; in the fourth, he had a lasso. He was riding on a Sīmurgh [2] and had twelve heads like those of a man (*mardum*), of a lion, of a horse, of an elephant, of a boar, of a ram, of a cow, of a wolf, of a cock, of a dog, of a male camel,[3] and of a falcon. The (adepts) have many explanations of these mysteries.[4] They say that this Bāsdīv brought the following message : " God the Exalted says [**O 250b**] that you should worship me and hold me great. The Fire, which I have exalted and to which I have given the highest places, and whose splendour I have put on, I have destined it to be of use to the people of this world, be it for the sake of sacrifices, (namely) of perfumes and butter (*raughanhā*), or be it for (the preparation of) food and cereals (*dāngū*).[5] I forbid them [for the sake of perfumes and butter ?] [6] to cut the throats of the animals and to kill them, except for sacrifice." He also ordered them to tie on and keep a thread hanging from the right shoulder towards the left arm-pit, called **junū*.[7] He forbade them to drink wine, to tell lies, and to eat the food belonging to someone outside their community, and not (to one) from their bosom (*kanār*). He made fornication licit unto them in order that procreation should be kept up without diminution and the world be bright. He ordered them to make an idol to his likeness and to worship it by circumambulating [**200b**] its four sides, three times a day. (On these occasions) they strike cymbals, make fumigations with *incense,[8] and stamp their feet before the idol. They worship the cow and prostrate themselves before her wherever they see her.

[1] The name left out in the text. In TH, *sh.kū*, read **sh.k.r*, i.e. *chakra*. MS. C. 205*a* has a marginal note : " *bajjar* (**vajra*) and *chakkar* (**chakra*), are both names of Indian weapons.

[2] TH : *'anqā*, i.e. the divine carrier Garūḍā.

[3] *Nar*, or of a goat (*buz*) ?

[4] Or of these heads.

[5] The text is not quite clear.

[6] Perhaps only repeated from the preceding line.

[7] Or *jnyw* (**janeū* ?) " guṇa thread ".

[8] **Dukhna*. C. and O. *rukhna* " paper ".

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No Brahman should cross the Ganges. [**O 251a**] One of the rules of their religion is not to teach it to anyone who is not of their seed (*dhurriyat*). Whoever has left their religion is not re-admitted except after he has made himself clean and they have purified him. The purification consists in shaving his head, his beard, his eye-brows and eye-lashes, and any hair on his body. Then they collect five things : cow-dung, cow's urine, milk and butter and Ganges water, and mix all five, giving them to him to drink in a copper bowl to the amount of one *riṭl*. Of the same water they *pour [1] on his head, after which they rub (*ṭalā*) his body, and thus for ten days, in proportion to his rebellion and his neglect of religion. Then he approaches a cow and prostrates himself before her.

12. (The second sect) are the MAHĀDEVĪ who say that their prophet was an angel, Mahā-dev by name, who came unto them in human form, riding a cow and wearing a crown adorned with dead-men's bones. He wore a necklace made of the same bones. In one hand he held a skull, in the other a lance shaped as a trident and [**O 251b**] with peacock feathers attached to it. He came and ordered them to worship the Creator, (saying) : " and also worship Mahā-dev as God, may he be glorified and exalted ", as whatever happens to them [**201a**] happens through him. They make idols in his likeness. Their habit is to collect what they can find to make a necklace, which they put round the neck of someone whom they exalt. Of the same material they make a crown which they place on his head. Then they smear his face and body with ashes, after which they wrap the lower part of his body in a cloak (*khirqa*), two fingers thick and reaching from his waist to his feet. This cloak is dyed in every colour which can be formed without being mixed (with other colours ?). Then they attach bells to his feet and he takes a staff and places it on his neck. From this staff on to his back an empty gourd and an earthen pot (*safālīn*) are suspended. One of them contains ashes with which he daily smears his body, and when someone gives him alms he smears with them the forehead (of the giver). In the other, he keeps his food. It is forbidden to this man [**O 252a**] to kill animals, to eat meat, to have intercourse with women, and to hoard property. His pittance is from alms. This class is also called *bhrāra*.[2] In the matter of charms they are mighty skilful. In the other hand this man holds a drum (*ṭabl*) to which are suspended two **gūsarī* [3] to beat the drum. And when the man agitates it and it produces sounds, they take it for worship. They mostly walk in fields and deserts, but when they enter a village they praise God with shouts because he is the Creator of Mahā-dev, [**201b**] and they also commemorate Mahā-dev. They agitate the drum with one hand and then praise the Mahā-dev in verse and in songs (*shi'r-u-laḥn*) (in which) they invite

[1] Read : **rīzand*, for C. and O. *āvīzand*, " they suspend " (?).

[2] Ssk. *bharaṭaka* " a devotee of Śiva " (H. W. Bailey). The Muslims usually render the Indian cerebrals *ḍ* and *ṭ* by *r*.

[3] C. *brdwdwkwsry āvīkhta* : O. *prdwdwkwsri* ? In Persian *gūsarī* would mean " cow-headed " (?), but it may be some Indian term *kūsrī*, or *dūkūsrī* ?

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people not to desire the world—so that people gather round (them) and to the sound of the bells attached to his feet dogs begin to howl.[1]

13. The KĀLĪ are those people who say that their prophet is an angel called Shib (Śiva). He came unto them in human form. He smeared himself with ashes and wore a bonnet of red felt, three spans (*badast*) tall and having round it pieces [2] of skull-bones. He came [**O 252b**] and brought with him a man of the rulers (*buzurgān*) of the age who put this (necklace ?) round his (*sic*) neck. Even now those who venerate him make necklaces (*qalīda*) of the same kind and place them round his (i.e. his idol's ?) neck. They tie a similar girdle round his loins, place similar objects in his hands, and attach them to his feet like anklets (*khalkhāl*). In one hand he holds a skull and in the other a drum similar to that of the *bhrāra* (see § 12), it is of the Mahā-devī. And that false prophet of theirs told them that this (idol ?) was their creator. God (forgive them) for what they say ! And on (his ?) head he made something like a human (phallus), which (is) round, two cubits (*rash*) long and one (?) span in diameter (*quṭr*). This they call in their *language [3] **lind*,[4] or correctly *ling*, meaning " the Prophet's phallus ". They worship it, saying that the phallus (*nar*) is the cause of procreation in the world. These men are naked and have no clothing except for the bonnet such as we have described. They go about in the likeness of Shib (Śiva) [**202a**] suspending to their phallus a large bell such as prevents them from any intercourse with women. Men or women meeting them prostrate themselves before them (it ?) and venerate them (it ?) [**O 253a**] and thus seek to approach God. They bring them as guests and seat them on chairs in view of the heaviness of the bell which (they wear). Then they fumigate his phallus with incense (*bakhūr*), while he blesses them, and they say : " may the Almighty apportion to us part of your merit ". Their livelihood consists of alms and they are stark naked (*hama birahna*). Some of them perforate their bodies and insert into them (*ba-andarān*) rings made of copper, tin (*arzīz*), or iron, until the body shines like a [lacuna].

14. The RĀMĀNĪ live in the region of D.KSHĀYT, i.e. North (read : South ?) in the town of Bāznāyan.[5] This Rāmān was a great king, the cleverest of his age. Later his ambition rose so high that he claimed to be a prophet and he was the guide to Paradise. The people of that kingdom accepted his creed and he invited them to worship him, saying : " if you seek God's approval worship me ". His intimates and adepts say [**O 253b**] that a discussion took place between him and the demon (*'ifrīt*) Rāvān and the demon did not accept his creed. The demon lived in the island *Vaḍavā-mukha.[6] The walls of the islanders (?)

[1] Or, the inhabitants (*sukkān* ?) begin to shout.

[2] O. *pāra*.

[3] *Bryān* read *ba-zabān*.

[4] C. and O. *knd*.

[5] See TH., p. 133. I had taken *D.kshāyt* for **Dakshāpat* " Deccan ", but Dr. Barnett suggests for *Bāznāy.n* **Bāraṇāsī*, i.e. Benares, and for *D.kshāyt* **deh-i Kāshī*, as the district is called.

[6] Spelt : *v.jva-shym.n*. In Arabic, *ḍ* ought to have given *r*.

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were of jewels and pearls interwoven with rubies and emeralds and other precious (*bīsh-bahā*) stones. In the island [**202b**] there were all kinds of verdure and perfumes. Concerning this castle (*bāra*) they say wonderful things which it would be too long to explain, (for example) that he (Rāmān) built a bridge on the sea, and other similar things. Rāvān carried off the wife of Rāmān and brought her to that island. A war broke out between them and it went on until Rāmān killed the demon and brought his wife back.

15. [BUDDHISTS, see above, § 10*b*.] Those who believe in the Creator and in rewards (and punishments), but reject prophets, say that God called upon his creatures wishing (*khwānad*, read: *khwāhad*) them to have no need of anybody else, because he has placed in their minds inclination to Good and hatred of Evil, (and he taught them) not to accept [1] anything from another person which would be unacceptable to Reason, and to oppose the nature of their bodies. [**O 254a**] (As) God has no need of his creatures, or of their worship, they say that Paradise can be reached (only) through mental exertions (*kirdār-i 'aql*) and through opposition to the nature of the body, for (*zīrā-ki*) this is a matter difficult to attain and especially to persevere in till the goal is reached.

16. Some others say that the way to reach God in truth is through the annihilation (*nā-chīz*) of the body and the elimination of the coarse (*kathīf*) soul which leads the body into sin and makes sin appear pleasant to the eye.

17. Some others connect a (true) sage with (the knowledge of) astronomy, medicine, and other sciences. They are all philosophers (*khudāvandān-i andīsha*) using their senses perpetually to that purpose (*tadbīr*). According to them, through hardship and great pain one can reach a state in which one can see angels, [**203a**] converse with them and derive benefit from them. They have produced books of sciences and arts (*adab*). They say that through *sensibilia* they can rise to the conception of *intelligibilia*. The first step (*qismat*) is to use the will (*isti'māl-i khwāsta* ?) for the object desired. The (second) is to think how wiles (*ḥīla*) should be expelled from their ambition (*da'vā*); (then) to master (*qam'*) the things which they acquire and to separate [**O 254b**], by means of (high) aspiration (*ba-himmat*), from anything which (others) present as good. The place of these "rishi" (spelt *ra'īsān*) is a mountain where for their bodies [2] they adopted [3] the peaks. They prepare their food of dates, plants, and herbs so that it should be light for their senses. As they eat such plants all their life, their eyes become sharper and their hearts quicker in the uptake.[4] They obtain anything they wish, be it rain or wind, or hail; they bring down birds or capture animals, fly like birds, or (produce) charms. They have invented (*nihāda*) many wonders in order to consolidate (*durust*) their religion. It is said that one of them was sitting at a place while birds were making much noise. So

[1] **ham-dāstān na-būdan* (for *na-būdand*).

[2] *Az bihtarīn*, read: **az bahr-i tan*.

[3] *Sarhā-yi kūh sākhta-and*. Perhaps **sarāhā-yi kūh* "mountain abodes". [This obscure passage may be connected with the mythical Mt. Meru, cf. Bīrūnī, *India*, tr. i, 247.]

[4] *Zūd-yāb-tar*; TH: *sarī' al-idrāk*.

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he prayed and all the birds shed their feathers and fell down. When the report reached the king of that time he said : " expel this man from my kingdom, lest he pray for something which might ruin my country ".

18. There is a sect called *N.KRB.NTĪ, i.e. " those fettered in iron ". They always shave their heads and beards and of their bodies hide only their privy parts [**203b**]. They plate their bodies in iron from waist to breast [**O 255a**], as they say, in order that their bellies burst not from the excess of learning contained therein. They always carry a jug. They do not teach their religion or speak to anyone until he has embraced their religion.

19. Another group are the GANGĀYĀTRĪ. They are found at any place in India. Their law is that anyone who has committed a sin which would offend his parents, or (any other) wicked deed,[1] wherever he be of the far or near places of India, he travels from there to the Ganges and washes himself in its water, and this is the purification (*kaffāra*) of his sin. Should he die on that journey, this too will be accepted from him.

20. The group called RĀCH.N.RI (?) [2] are mostly of princely families of India and form the king's party (**shī'a* for *shifta*). Their religion is to serve the kings and to help them in any case. They say " we do not weary ourselves without a profit or some necessity (*bī-naf'ī yā daf'ī*). The best thing is to serve the kings and attend on them in struggling against their enemies. Should we gain victory, our rank (*miqdār* ?) in the king's service will increase and our glory [**O 255b**] rise, and we shall obtain the best things in the world. If, however, we die in our endeavours we shall go to Paradise with all its blessings." These people are manly, courageous, and valiant. They have deadly swords and are very impatient (*sakht nā-ṣabūr*) to sacrifice their life.

21. Another sect are the BHĀDRŪRĪ (?) who say that there were three brothers. Two of them made a plot (*ḥīla*) and the third brother, whose name was Bhādr.rū, fell from his horse and died. They skinned him (*āhīkhtand*) and expanded his skin, and this vast earth is from that skin, the mountains from his bones, the waters from his blood, and the trees and plants from his hair. And under this allegory (*ramz*) is another meaning. Their law is to keep the hair long, letting it down straight from every side so that they look out from underneath that hair. They wear vests (*ṣidra*), letting their hands out of (?) their sleeves and keeping their chests uncovered. Round their waists they attach chains and each is accompanied by another man who holds him by that chain. They do not drink wine. Their pilgrimage is to a mountain called Chūn-ghar (Jūnagarh ?). They repair thither to lament (**nauḥa* for *tavajjuh*) Bhādrūz (*sic*). They occupy that mountain and on it they have built a large house (on which) [**O 256a**] they have represented (*nigāshta*) Bhādrūz on a horse. This building has a door on entering which they tie up their mouths, *lest their breath should touch the idol's body. There they

[1] *Tā sīna bar dast-i ū biravad*, read : **yā sayy'ia*. Cf. TH, p. *30 : *ijtaraḥa sayy'iatan*.

[2] **Rāja-nara* " King's man ", or *rājanya-* " man of Kṣatriya caste " ? (H. W. Bailey).

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perform sacrifices. When these men visit other countries they tell the stories on which their creed is based, and in the meantime they nod.[1] Apart from that house they have other houses (in which) the likeness of Bhādrū (*sic*) and his two brothers JŪN and M.RS are represented, and idols are found (in them), but they venerate that house on Mt. Jūn-ghar (above all).

22. Another sect is called *MAHĀ-KĀLĪ. They have an idol called Mahā-Kāl which has four hands [**294b**] and is sky-blue. He has much hair, his tusks [2] come out and his belly is protruding,[3] while on his back an elephant's skin is thrown from which blood is dripping. On his head and shoulders there are two snakes; in *three of his hands he holds a snake, a skull, and a stick, while his fourth hand is raised towards his head. On his head he wears a crown made of skulls. They say [**O 256b**] that this was a demon (*dīv*) whom they worship in view of his exalted state, as he had many virtues and many vices. Therefore in India they build many temples (to him) and daily the adherents of this religion visit the temple, prostrate themselves before the (idol), and circumambulate him. They have a place called *UJJAYN (spelt *Aj.r*, see above, § 9) with a large idol representing (Mahā-Kāl). They take before him their needs in this lower world and the world beyond and from him learn charms (*'azā'im*). They do wonderful things saying that they all are from (Mahā-Kāl's) teaching. Men come before him and say: "give me this woman, or give me that thing". Some people come to worship him while for several days they refrain from food and humble themselves asking him for their needs. Some take an iron lamp and shaping its bottom like a spear place it on their palm and press it until it has pierced the palm and made a hole in it. Then they light the lamp and kneel down on both knees before the idol with lamentations saying [**205a**]: "accept from us our visit to this house".

23. The sect called DĪVĀTRĪ [**O 257a**] have a custom to make an idol and to seat it on a calf. Before it (or, for it: *az bar-i ū*) they pitch a high tent (*qubba*). Then they pull the calf and people circumambulate it, striking cymbals and playing on stringed instruments. On that day all the courtesans (*qaḥba*) that be in the whole country assemble there. They sit on horses and elephants and bedeck themselves with many ornaments, men marching in front of them, and thus they circumambulate the idol. This happens in spring and when that day is over they carry the idol back to its place. The idol has a special treasury in which other idols are preserved in the shape of kings, chiefs of various countries, and leaders of other sects. They have (other) idols [4] shaped like horses, birds, and (grazing-) animals. They display them on that day and around them people play, but when the festival is over, they take them all into the treasury.

[1] *Va sar-rā mījunbānand*, unless this is some circumlocution for "deceiving, playing a hoax"?

[2] *Ashk-hā-yi ū bīrūn khazīda*. TH.: *kāshir al-nāb* "with grinning teeth". Cf. the name of a peak in Ghor *Ask* (**Ashk*) "tooth" in *Ṭabaqāt*, 39 (tr. 310). The more usual form is *yashk*, cf. *Vīs-u-Rāmīn*: a wild boar gores Mōbad with its *yashk*.

[3] *Bar-āmada*, perhaps **birahna* "naked".

[4] C. *banātī*; O. *butān*, which is obviously right.

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24. Another sect is called B.KTĪ.[1] Their custom is to make an idol in the shape of a woman with a crown on her head. She has four hands: with one she touches a nail (*mīkh*), with another she draws a sword, in the third she holds a *bajjar* (**vajra*), and in the fourth a *chakkar* (**chakra*), these two latter [2] being Indian weapons. [**O 257b**] When the Sun reaches (the zodiac of) Libra (22nd September–22nd October), they adorn this idol and before it place a throne (*takht*) on which they display whatever plants they can find and twigs of trees. And they bring together perfumes as well. Then they offer sacrifices: they bring buffaloes and sheep of various kinds placing grass before them that they may eat it. Whenever an animal raises its head they strike it with a sword in front of the idol and this is their sacrifice. [**205b**] Thus they carry on till the end of the festival. This is done by the commoners. As to their kings, they find a man, red-haired and green-eyed. Then before the idol they fix a sharp chopper (*katāra*) blade upwards, and tell the man to lay (his head) on the chopper. A man strikes him on the head so that the chopper penetrates up to the handle into his forehead and he dies on the spot (*dar sā'at*). They say that in this way they acquire a great reward (*muzd*). At that moment they display great joy, entertain guests, and drink wine.

25. Another sect is called *JALA-BHAKTĪ (spelt *Jk.hk.nān*), i.e. "water-worshippers". They say that on the waters there is an angel and water is the origin of all plants and animals. It is the origin of life: wherever it be plentiful, there plants, [**258a**] the breeding of animals and the prosperity of the world are on the increase. A man (of theirs) enters the water up to his waist and stays there (*andar ū*) for more than two hours. He holds sweet basil (*sipargham*) in his hands and splits it into small pieces (*pāra*) which he throws into the water as he swims (*ashnā*) and sings something. When he wants to retire he stirs the water with his hand and scooping up a little pours it over his head and the parts of the body which are not submerged. Then he goes, after a prostration before the water.

26. Another sect is called *AGNI-HOTRĪ (spelt *K.hrt.riyān*), i.e. "fire-worshippers". According to them Fire is the greatest of the elements and substances. Whoever burns himself in it purifies himself of all impurities (*palīdīhā*), while the fire becomes exalted (*buzurg*). They make a quadrangular hole in which they kindle a great fire. Then they bring food, garments, gold, silver, precious stones, cereals (*dāngū*), and perfumes and throw them into the flames, as they circumambulate them. Great kings belong to this sect.

27. Another sect is called CHANDRA-BHAKTĪ (spelt *J.ndr.rbhaktiyān*) [**206a**], i.e. "Moon-worshippers". According to them the Moon is one of the great angels. Of him they have made an idol seated on a calf. [**O 258b**] Before him are four (other) idols.[3] In his hand he holds a jewel. Every month these people fast for half a month (or, during the middle of the month ?). They do not

[1] Probably **Dahkīnī*, as in Shahristanī.

[2] I.e. the club and the disk. Both terms are separately spelt out in the margin.

[3] *al-Fihrist*: "four ducks" (*rab'at al-buṭūṭ*).

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break their fast until the new moon appears. And when the moon rises they go up on to the roofs, sprinkle perfumes, and look at the moon with pleasant faces.[1] Then they come down to their homes, break the fast, and go before the idols stamping their feet and playing.

28. Another sect is called *ADITYA-BHAKTĪ (spelt *Awtbhaktiyān*), i.e. "Sun-worshippers". They have made an idol seated on a calf. Four horses are harnessed [2] to (the idol) and before the idol there is an angel whom they worship prostrating themselves before him, burning incense and playing the flute (**nāy* for *pāy*) and striking cymbals. The idol has numerous estates and much grain. And they tell many stories about this idol. The sick come and fast before him for a day and a night, which they call *lak-han*, (hoping to) dream a dream, (after which) they are told that their wish has been fulfilled, and break their fast. There were two of these idols but Amīr Maḥmūd, God have mercy on his soul, pulled down one of them, and the other still exists in Hindūstān.

29. Another group are the MAHĀBR.FTĪ (?).[3] Their custom is that a man goes to a graveyard and there collects the burnt bones [**O 259a**] of the dead. Then he enters a village and cries abusing the people: "O, rebels, o sinners, who have become captives of your passions and slaves of your nature and have succumbed (*uftāda*) to the rebellion (*fitna*) of your passions. How long will you be killing your fathers and raping your mothers?" [**206b**] that is to say, "men and women will never reach repentance (*tauba na-yāband*) until they have become like me and trodden my path; let them know themselves and humble themselves in order to endear themselves (to God)".

30. Another sect is that called *AMRAG-CHARĪ (*mṛgacara*). They resemble animals, go on all fours, tear up grass with their mouths, do not cut their *hair (read: *mūy* for *būy*) and do not struggle (*kār*) against anything (?).[4]

31. Another sect is that called *MUNI, i.e. "the silent". They do not harm or pain anybody, and do not speak to anyone (*har kas*). They eat what food they can find, except meat, and do not marry.

32. Another sect is NĪKSĪ (?), i.e. "those seeking the road to Paradise".[5] They enter villages and women and other people follow them (*hamī-āyand*) and (thus) they stroll in the markets. Then they plunge themselves into their thoughts and for a time remain in that state. Then (such a man) will exclaim: "I have forgotten how to walk", and some man will come up, seize his foot, set it (on the ground), then a second time move his foot forward, [**O 259b**] and thus with difficulty make him walk saying: "go this way", and he will go and pray for him (who helped him).

[1] *Ba-rū'ī nīkū nihand*, perhaps **bīnand*; cf. TH.: *wa naẓarū ilayhi bi-wajhin ḥasanin*.

[2] *bar-vay sakht karda*.

[3] Sir R. Burn thought the name might be *Mahā-brahmanān "a despised section of Brahmans who deal in funerary rites", which is somewhat doubtful.

[4] *Ba-hīch chīz *ba-kār nayāyand* (O. *kār nayayand*). TH.: *lā yasta'milūna ḥīlatan fi daf' ḍarr*. Perhaps instead of *chīz* one should read *ḍarr*.

[5] Dr. Barnett suggests **mumukshī* "seekers of salvation (*mokṣa*)".

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33. Another sect is called K.STK.RTĪ and SĪD.R.[1] They are naked and cover only their privy parts. On their necks they wear a staff, and suspended on it are a gourd in which there is everything and also a bag (*kharīṭa*) with food. In the other (?) hand they hold a fan of peacock's feathers. These people like discussions (*ahl-i jadal* ?). With each of them comes a disciple. They have chairs on which they sit and all day long they have no other business [**207a**] but to pluck hair out of their heads, brows, eyelashes, and limbs. By that they intend to mortify (*'adhāb*) their body. They say that there was a king who was attracted towards this religion. So they bared his body and said: "all this hair has to be plucked out and while this is done thou must not shout but only say: 'o comfort!' (*ay rāḥatā*)". When much of it was plucked out and the operation became painful, he shouted and they said: "thou hast spoilt thy business". He became silent and kept saying (*ba-guftan īstād*): "o, comfort". They said: "if thou goest on saying like this till all thy hair is gone thou shalt enter paradise". As they went on with their operation he felt great pain and could stand it no more. [**O 260a**] So he withdrew himself from their hands and returned to his own status and religion. When asked about the reason, he answered: "one must flee from a religion whose very beginning [2] is a lie".

34. Among them there are people who burn themselves in the fire, doing this in the following way. They dig a ditch near a water, and fill it with burning stuff (*ātash*). That man (of theirs) comes and fumigates himself, prostrates himself before everybody, and throws himself into the ditch. When he is on fire he comes out and entering the water plunges into it for so long that he is nearly dead. Then entering the fire and water alternately he goes on until he dies. Should he die in the fire or in the water, they proclaim him one of Paradise, but should he die between the two they become afflicted (*tāfta*) and say: "he has not reached Paradise".

35. Some heat stones and collecting them while they are very hot [3] place these burning pieces of stone on the belly (of the man who wishes to undergo the test) until a hole appears in his belly and his bowels (*rūdagān*) fall out and he dies. Some others kindle four fires and stand in the middle holding one foot in one hand and resting on the other; and thus they remain until they are on fire and the contents of their entrails (*rūdāb*) [**O 260b**] spurt from them and finally they fall of weakness and die being consumed by the fire.

36. Some carve pieces out of their thighs and flesh and cutting them into (small) slices throw them into the fire, while singing some of those incantations (*khwānish*). Men gather round such a man, praise him, incite him (to seek) his reward (*muzd*), and pray that the Almighty grant them the same rank. Thus they go on until the man dies.

[1] Dr. Barnett suggests **keśa-kartī* "cutting hair" (or *keśa-luñcī* "plucking out hair"), and for سيدر بينذر* (<*vījanadhara*) "fan-bearer".

[2] I.e. the declaration: "o comfort".

[3] *Bas tabān*, read: **tābān*.

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37. Some enter cow's dung up to their calves (*sāq*), then sit down and set fire to the dung until it burns. And they remain in the same position until the fire catches them and they fall down and die.

38. Some heat an oven (*tannūr*) and the man sits in it, catches fire, and burns. The people ask him: "has the sweet basil of Paradise reached there (*ānjā rasīd*)?" and he answers them until he burns up and is dead.

39. Others again who kill themselves by hunger and thirst are called ANSHĪ.[1] Some die on the twentieth day and some survive up to thirty days. First they are unable to walk, then to sit, then to utter a word, [**O 261a**] then their senses are annihilated and they become like blocks of dry wood and finally they grow motionless and numb (*bi-y-afsurand*).

40. A sect [**208a**] called *TRIŚŪLĪ (spelt: *t.rshūlī*) has the following custom. There is a tree named **bātū*[2] whose nature is such that coming out of the soil it grows up and then long twigs shoot out of it in every direction, and reaching the soil take root and grow up again and again. Left alone they would cover the province, but some (of the twigs) are pruned and some set fire to, so that it should acquire more strength (?).[3] The people of this creed have a place where the waters of the River Ganges flow together. There stands a huge tree wide-spreading (*pahn bāz-shuda*).[4] Under it they have fixed something which they call **triśūl* "trident". It is made of iron and is like a stake driven into (the soil), rising above the level of the river several tens of cubits (*chand dah rash*). It is hard as the hardest wood.[5] Its top forms three branches, each long, hard, sharpened, and neatly polished, so that it shines like fire. A man sits by (?) the course of the river (*az gudhāra-yi āb*), close to the tree, reading a book and addressing the River Ganges: "O (*yā* ?) great one, either return, or (show) the road to Paradise![6] Thou art a stream coming from the centre of Paradise and showing to the men [**O 261b**] the road thereunto (*bad-ū hamī rāh numā'ī*). Blessed is he who climbs on to the tree and throws himself on that stake." And the people there listen to it, and one of them climbs on to the tree, flings himself on to the stake, cuts himself to pieces on its blades, and falls into the river. And the people who are there pray for him and say: "he is gone to Paradise".

41. There is a sect [lacuna] whose habit is to assemble daily [**208a**] on the spot where the Ganges unites (*gird shavad*) with the Yamuna (*Jaun*). Each brings a weapon as sharp as a sword, a dagger, or such like. One of these devotees who wishes to purify himself and seeks approach to God, comes near those people and they throw upon him whatever they have of garments, ornaments, golden necklaces, bracelets, and such like, and they set upon him with all their sharp weapons, slay him and cut him in two: they throw one

[1] **Anāśa* "not eating".

[2] *Vaṭa* "banyan tree". Spelt: *tāb.r.*

[3] *C.* and *O.*: *tā quvatī bīshtar gardad* ?

[4] On the Prayāga tree see Biruni ii, 284 (tr. ii, 170).

[5] *Va siṭabrī-yi ū chūn chūbī har-chi siṭabrtar.*

[6] Possibly here too *yā* . . . *yā* represent exclamations: "o return, o show!"

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part into the Ganges and the other into the Yamuna saying: "let these two streams take him to Paradise".

42. There is a group among them from which devotees go out to the desert. A large throng accompanies such a man, reciting a prayer [O 262a] and encouraging him. Then he parts with them and sits alone in the desert. Birds of prey (*ṭuyūr-i shikara*), such as eagles, hawks, falcons, gerfalcons (*shāhīn*), kites (*ghalīvazh*),[1] ospreys (*humāy*),[2] and such like gather round him, while he sits quiet. The birds approach him growing bolder and bolder until they peck him with their beaks. They pierce his limbs, peck his flesh, and he keeps silent and does not resist [3] until (the birds) have taken off his flesh and eaten it. He loses his life without making a movement. When these birds have eaten all his flesh (only) his bones remain, and when the birds are gone the onlookers (*ahl-i ān nazẓāra*) draw near and each takes a piece of the bones as a blessing. They carry the bones away, burn them in their houses and, at a moment of need, use them (*ba-kār dārand*) in the medicines administered to the patients (whose illness) is very grave.

43. These were the records of the Indians which we have brought to light. What we have found, we have brought to light here. Success is from God and in him (we put our) trust.

In the year $\frac{93}{12}$ of the Hijra.[4]

[1] *Milvus govinda* "the pariah kite".

[2] Contrary to the legendary auspiciousness of the *humāy*, this bird, in its private capacity, is only an *ustukhwān-khwār* "bone-eater". W. Henning identifies it with "osprey < ossifrage", *BSOAS.*, 1947, XII/1, p. 42.

[3] *Va mirā' na-mīkunad* ? *O. mir'āh* ?

[4] See Preface. *O.* has "on the 21 Dhul-Ḥijja 1196 H. (27 November 1781)".

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